

EXHIBIT 20

Expert Report of Brad Lockerbie, Ph.D.

September 30, 2020

I. Purpose of engagement

1. I have been asked to provide my expert opinion regarding the requirement in Pennsylvania law that poll watchers be legal residents of the counties in which they watch and on the compensation that poll watchers receive for their services. I am providing my opinion on these issues for the case Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. v. Boockvar, Case No. 2:20-cv-96, and associated matters.

II. Qualifications

2. I have taught about elections and political science at the university level for over thirty years. I am currently professor of political science at East Carolina University in Greenville, NC. I have taught at East Carolina University since 2007. From 1988 to 2007, I was an assistant and associate professor of political science at the University of Georgia. I have served as a consultant for the Advanced Placement Program, as an open-response question grader and a table leader with supervisory responsibility for other graders. Also, I have served as a presenter at the Robert Taft seminars on American government. I served as a consultant in *Nielson v. DeSantis* (N.D. Fla.), and *Chambers v. North Carolina* (Wake Cty. Sup. Ct.).
3. In 1988, I received my doctorate in political science from the University of Iowa. I received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Georgia in 1984.
4. I have published over 30 peer-reviewed articles on elections and public opinion in political science journals and interdisciplinary journals, including the American Journal of Political Research, PS: Political Science and Politics, and Social Science Quarterly. I have authored the book *Do Voters Look to the Future? Economics and Elections* published by SUNY Press. I have published several book chapters, including two with Cambridge University Press. My CV is attached to this report as Exhibit A.
5. I am being paid \$500/hour for work in this matter. My pay is not dependent on the content or the interpretation of the analysis performed.

III. Residency Requirement

6. I am not a lawyer, but it is my understanding that Pennsylvania law requires those who serve as poll watchers to be residents of the counties in which they observe the polling process. Given my experience with elections, it is my opinion that this requirement is entirely arbitrary, serves no legitimate purpose, and will hinder free and fair elections in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in the current election season.
7. First, limiting poll watchers in a county to residents of that county is an arbitrary rule that severely hinders free and fair elections. For example, there is no reason to automatically assume that county residents will be better able to administer their responsibilities than non-county residents. One may argue that local residents are likely to be able to recognize other county residents, thus improving the poll watching process. Given my experience, however, this argument is incorrect. For example, the smallest county in Pennsylvania has just under 5,000 residents. The largest county has over 1.5 million residents. The mean value of the population of the counties in Pennsylvania is over 190,000. After factoring out those who are not eligible to vote, it is highly unlikely that a poll watcher would have a much larger insight as to who people were in the county than would an observer from outside the county.
8. In my experience, the key to any system of poll watching or monitoring is to have informed individuals ready and willing to serve at each polling location. Given the responsibilities of a poll watcher, it is important that the individual so designated is familiar with basic election rules, the processes that are employed at the voting location, and the actions that a poll watcher may (and may not) take. This is particularly true in Pennsylvania, which invests the poll watcher with, among other things, the ability to monitor Election Day activities, report back to his or her party the activities at the polling location, and, in defined circumstances, lodge challenges to perceived improprieties in the voting procedures. See, e.g., 25 P.S. 2687(b) & 3050(a.3) & (d). Also, poll

watchers can monitor pre-election voter registration activities, all public sessions of the county election boards, all computation and canvassing of the returns, and all counting or recounting of ballots or voting machines. See, e.g., 25 P.S. 2650(a) & 3146.8(b).

9. It follows, therefore, that in order for an orderly, transparent, and accurate election, there must be an adequate supply of individuals who can meet these requirements and be willing and able to serve in this capacity. The appropriate candidate for poll watching must meet numerous criteria both under relevant law and to properly effect the position the he or she has agreed to serve. First, the proposed poll watcher must be a resident of the county in which he or she serves. Next, for poll watchers appointed by political parties, he or she must be a registered member of the party on whose behalf he or she appears. Next, he or she must be able to take off work or otherwise make arrangement to be at the polling place for the appointed time. The candidate must be willing to accept token remuneration, which is capped at \$120 under Pennsylvania state law, less than the minimum wage proposed by Governor Wolf.¹ If ancillary activities to watching go beyond the allotted 13 hours of voting, the actual wage may be less than the current minimum wage. See 25 P.S. 2687(c). The candidate must either possess basic knowledge of election law and procedure or be willing to expend additional time to learn such items. Finally, he or she must be willing to participate in the process which, as discussed below, may be challenging under current circumstances. If any of these criteria are not met, either the individual is barred from service or cannot perform the function in the manner intended by law.
10. Complicating matters, in 2020, the United States has suffered through an unprecedented period of pandemic and curtailment of public activity. Not only must the proposed candidate meet the criteria discussed above, they must be willing to present themselves in person in a large, indoor

¹ <https://www.governor.pa.gov/newsroom/gov-wolf-proposes-minimum-wage-increase-for-sixth-time/>

gathering area where they will be in the proximity of hundreds or thousands of people over the period of election day. Indeed, numerous states cancelled in person voting during the primary season due to concerns related to group gatherings.² Under any circumstances, finding qualified poll watchers is difficult. In 2020, those difficulties are magnified.

11. Compounding these challenges, the Pennsylvania requirement that poll watchers be a resident of the relevant county greatly limits the pool of potential candidates for these positions. For example, Allegheny County borders numerous counties including Washington County, Beaver County, Butler County, Armstrong County and Westmoreland County. Yet, qualified candidates from Pittsburgh cannot assist in ensuring the integrity of the voting process in these adjacent counties no matter how willing or qualified they may be. This is true even though almost all Pennsylvania Congressional candidates, including the four congressional Plaintiffs, in this case, have districts that involve multiple overlapping counties.
12. Finally, I would note that in many counties the challenges to finding qualified individuals are multiplied because many counties have numerous polling stations. Philadelphia recently announced that it would have over 1,703 polling places, which would burden the political parties to provide approximately 5,109 poll watchers (1,703 x 3) who meet the criteria discussed above. Additionally, many counties are using drop boxes and other ballot-collection sites for over-the-counter absentee and mail-in voting which has been announced to occur weeks before the November 3, 2020 General Election. These developments only highlight the acute need to permit poll watchers from outside the county to watch the polls and strengthen my opinion that there is no rational basis for the county resident requirement in Pennsylvania law.

² <https://www.nytimes.com/article/2020-campaign-primary-calendar-coronavirus.html>

13. The election integrity that underlies the poll watching scheme is enhanced when multiple parties participate. Although poll watchers are designated by the party that identified them, their principal purpose is to enhance integrity for the entire process for all parties. Thus, for example, the Republican poll watcher is not there only to ensure that all Republican voters are heard but that all voters are heard under the law and in accord with applicable regulation. The more poll watchers present, consistent with no crowding, the more likely this goal is fulfilled, particularly when numerous uncertainties with respect to voting by mail and in person are present. And, conversely, if these restrictions and one-time COVID-related challenges limit the presence of poll watchers, then the integrity of the voting process will be inconsistently applied.
14. Poll watchers are also critical to transparency in elections and ensure that voter fraud does not occur. Voter fraud is a legitimate threat to free and fair elections. I incorporate by reference the numerous instances of voter fraud provided by Plaintiffs in this litigation. I have reviewed these numerous instances of voter fraud, and it is my opinion that permitting poll watchers to cross county lines to poll watch will reduce such fraud significantly, as both poll watchers from both political parties will be able to watch the polls across county lines. This will reduce fraud and vote dilution in Pennsylvania significantly.
15. Against this background, I am of the opinion that, to a reasonable degree of certainty, that the application of the residency requirements as set forth in Pennsylvania law and recently affirmed by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court will lead to uneven application of the poll watcher statute and different observation conditions for different polling locations. For example, in heavily Republican counties, it is not at all clear that Democrats or any other party will be able to identify sufficient candidates to qualify from residents in those counties. Conversely, in heavily Democratic counties, particularly those with numerous polling places, it is unclear that the Republicans will be able to recruit a sufficient group of resident individuals to provide oversight and poll watching duties. If the

parties cannot recruit such individuals, then the entire purpose of the poll watching statute is frustrated in certain areas while in other areas it is met. Thus, the election laws and oversight will, necessarily, be applied in an uneven matter.

16. While, conceivably, the Democratic and Republican parties might be able to meet the relevant criteria and recruit a sufficient population of qualified poll watchers who meet the residency requirements, it is quite clear that third parties, who are entitled to the same protections as the two principal parties, will be unable to recruit a sufficient population. For example, many third parties only have a handful of residents in a given county. It goes without saying that if, for example, the Constitution Party, Libertarian Party, or the Communist Party, all of whom have nominated individuals for the Presidency are required to find dozens or hundreds of party members in counties where they only have a handful of registered party members, it would be impossible for those parties to participate in poll watching or fulfill the purposes of the statute. In this way, the application of the residency requirement disenfranchises members of these parties based solely on the residency requirement.

17. I have reviewed data from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, referenced below in my materials reviewed, and from that data conclude that the quality and quantity of poll watchers subject to the residency requirements will lead to the inconsistent appearance of such individuals. I was able to obtain summary statistics on party registration by county, but unfortunately, it only lists Democrat, Republican, No affiliation, and other.³ I was also able to access the number of voting districts per county from the state database.⁴ Looking at Philadelphia County, there are 36,100 registered others and, as of 2016, 1686 voting districts. Today, there are 1,703 polling places. If each of them is to be

³ <https://www.dos.pa.gov/VotingElections/OtherServicesEvents/VotingElectionStatistics/Pages/VotingElectionStatistics.aspx> (last accessed September 30, 2020)

⁴ <https://www.electionreturns.pa.gov/#> (last accessed September 30, 2020)

fully staffed, there would be 5,109 poll watchers per party. Assuming that all of the others are with the one minor party on the ballot, this would mean that approximately every 7th registrant would be a poll watcher. The assumption that they are all with one party is unreasonable, but it is unreasonable so that it makes it look easier, not harder, to argue a party can get poll watchers. If we, instead, assume that some of the write-in candidates' parties are represented in these numbers, it is even more difficult for each of the minor parties to produce a full complement of poll watchers in the counties. Looking at other counties, we see much the same. York County, under the same assumptions as above, would necessitate every 20th registrant serve as a poll watcher; Cameron County every 6th registrant; Montgomery County every 27th registrant; Clinton County, every 9th registrant; and Clarion County, every 7th registrant.

18. In contrast, relief from the residency requirements would ameliorate these obvious problems. Parties would be afforded the opportunity to allocate resources in a way that would fulfill the Pennsylvania legislature's stated goal of a full and fair election. While it may be more preferable to have a qualified county resident act as a poll watcher than a non-county resident, it is clear that for many parties, the choice is between a non-county resident or no one at all.
19. Additionally, as to the stated interest of having a qualified county resident act as a poll watcher rather than a non-county resident, I would note that for absentee and mail-in ballots, the Election Code does not impose any such county resident restriction. Instead, any person, including a non-resident of Pennsylvania, can serve as a "representative" and attend the pre-canvass and canvass activities related to absentee and mail-in ballots. 25 P.S. 3146.8(g)(1.1) & (2).
20. As a result, largely of the residency requirement, some polling stations may have multiple party poll watchers present, some polling stations may have only the major parties, and some polling stations may have only one or no party present. Effectively, the "rules" by which elections will be contested will differ from polling location to polling location depending on how many party residents are

willing and able to serve in the capacity as poll watcher. It is my opinion that this would result in an unequal application of voting laws and could well lead to pernicious outcomes including enforcement of laws to favor the parties present and to the detriment of those not present due to the requirement of county residency.

21. The opinions set out in this report are my own opinions and are based on my education, training, and experience; my review of relevant related literature in the field; and review of the materials mentioned throughout; and decades of observing and studying election issues. I reserve the right to supplement or change this report and the conclusions should additional information or data be provided to me.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I affirm, declare and certify under penalty of perjury that the foregoing statements, representations and affirmatives are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Brad Lockerbie", with a stylized, cursive script.

Brad Lockerbie

BRAD LOCKERBIE

Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATION

Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1988
A.B., University of Georgia, 1984

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Professor, East Carolina University, 2014 -
Professor and Chair, East Carolina University, 2007-2014
Associate Professor, University of Georgia, 1994-2007
Assistant Professor, University of Georgia, 1988-1994
Instructor, University of Georgia, Spring 1988
Instructor, University of Iowa, Fall 1987
Teaching Assistant, University of Iowa, 1985-1987

SCHOLASTIC AWARDS AND HONORS

Phi Kappa Phi, 2010-
Omicron Delta Kappa, 2010-
Exemplary Service Medal, Thomas Harriot College of Arts and Sciences, East Carolina University, 2009
Dean Thomas P. Lauth Award for Teaching Excellence, 2007
Delta Upsilon Chapter of Gamma Phi Beta Recognition of Contributions to Academic Excellence at the University of Georgia, 1999
Delta Upsilon Chapter of Gamma Phi Beta Recognition of Contributions of Academic Excellence at the University of Georgia, 1998
Selected to participate in the Institute for Behavioral Research Faculty Mentoring program, 1990
Departmental nominee for Conference of Southern Graduate Schools Annual Achievement Award for New Scholars, 1989

BOOK

Do Voters Look to the Future? Economics and Elections. 2008. SUNY Press: Albany, NY.

ARTICLES

- “Maybe it is More than a Joke: Satire, Mobilization, and Political Participation,” (with Jody C Baumgartner), 2018, *Social Science Quarterly*, 99:1060-1074.
- “The Economic Pessimism Model,” 2017, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 50:335.
- “Economic Pessimism and Political Punishment,” 2016, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 49:673-676.
- “Race and Religion: Voting Behavior and Political Attitudes,” 2013, *Social Science Quarterly*. 94:1145-1158.
- “Economic Expectations and Election Outcomes,” 2013, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 46:42.
- “Economic Expectations and Election Outcomes: The Presidency and the House in 2012,” 2012, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 45:644-647.
- “A Retrospective on the Prospective Model: Economic Expectations and Election Outcomes,” 2009, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 42:22-23.
- “Election Forecasting: The Future of the Presidency and the House,” 2008, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 41:713-71.
- “Framing Effects on Public Opinion During Prewar and Major Combat Phases of the U.S. Wars with Iraq,” (with Stephen A. Borrelli), 2008, *Social Science Quarterly*, 89:502-522.
- “Economic and Politics: Egocentric or Sociotropic?,” 2007, *American Review of Politics*, 27:191-208.
- “After the Vote: Evaluating a Prospective Forecasting Model of Presidential Elections,” 2005, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 28:39-40.
- “A Comparison of Incumbency Across Institutions: A Look at the House, Senate, and Governorships,” 2004, *American Review of Politics*, 25:287-304.
- “A Look to the Future: Forecasting the 2004 Presidential Election,” 2004, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 37:741-745.
- “Georgia: Partisan Parity in the Peach State,” (with John A. Clark, Audrey A. Haynes, and Jason M. Seitz.) 2003, *American Review of Politics*, 24:35-52.
- “Party Identification: Constancy and Change,” 2002, *American Politics Research*, 30:384-405.
- “Forecast 2000: An Afterthought,” 2001, *American Politics Research*, 29:307-313.
- “The Partisan Component to the Incumbency Advantage: 1956-1996,” 1999, *Political Research Quarterly*, 52:631-646.
- “An Integrative Approach to Modeling Presidential Success in Congress,” (with Stephen Borrelli and Scott Hedger), 1998, *Political Research Quarterly*, 51:155-172.
- “The Electoral Consequences of Voting to Declare War,” (with James L. Regens and Ronald Keith Gaddie), 1995, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 39:168-182.

- "The Sophomore Surge: Conversion, Mobilization, or Abstention," 1994, *Political Research Quarterly*, 47:961-968.
- "Party Contacting and Political Participation, 1952-1990," (with Peter W. Wielhouwer), 1994, *American Journal of Political Science*, 38:211-229.
- "Economic Dissatisfaction and Political Alienation in Western Europe," 1993, *European Journal of Political Research*, 23:281-293.
- "Making Choices About Choice: House Support for Abortion Funding," (with James L. Regens), 1993, *Social Science Research*, 22:24-32.
- "Election Marginality, District Homogeneity, and Policy Responsiveness," 1992, *Midsouth Journal of Political Science*, 13:341-354.
- "Elections and the Responsiveness of Incumbents: A Response to Bernstein," 1992, *Midsouth Journal of Political Science*, 13:361-362.
- "Prospective Voting in Presidential Elections: 1956-1988," 1992, *American Politics Quarterly*, 20:308-325.
- "The Influence of Levels of Information on the Use of Prospective Evaluations," 1991, *Political Behavior*, 13:223-235.
- "Prospective Economic Voting in House Elections, 1956-1988," 1991, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 16:239-262.
- "The Temporal Pattern of Economic Evaluations and Vote Choice in Senate Elections," 1991, *Public Choice*, 69:279-294.
- "Question Wording and Support for Contra Aid, 1983-1986," (with Stephen A. Borrelli), 1990, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 54:195-208. [Reprinted in *Questionnaires*, edited by Martin Bulmer, 2004, Sage Publications.]
- "Change in Party Identification: The Role of Prospective Economic Evaluations," 1989, *American Politics Quarterly*, 17:291-311.
- "Economics, Votes, Protests: West European Cases," (with Michael S. Lewis-Beck), 1989, *Comparative Political Studies*, 22:155-177.
- "Getting Inside the Beltway: Perceptions of Presidential Skill and Success," (with Stephen A. Borrelli), 1989, *British Journal of Political Science*, 19:97-106.
- "Why the Democratic-Republican Partisanship Gap Varies From Poll to Poll," (with Richard Niemi and Stephen Borrelli), 1987, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 51:115-119.

BOOK CHAPTERS

- Introduction," (with Laurence C. Moreland and Robert Steed), 2002, in Robert P. Steed and Laurence C. Moreland, editors, *The 2000 Presidential Election in the South*, Westport, CT: Praeger Press.
- "Election Forecasting: A Look to The Future," 2000, in James C. Garand and James E. Campbell, eds., *Before the Vote*, 133-144, Beverly Hills: Sage Press.
- "Split Partisan Identification," (with John A. Clark), 1998, in Charles D. Hadley and Lewis Bowman, editors, *Political Party Activists in Southern Politics: Mirrors and Makers of Change*, 111-128, Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press.
- "Campaign Activities," (with John A. Clark and Peter W. Wielhouwer), 1998, in Robert P. Steed,

- John A. Clark, Lewis Bowman, and Charles D. Hadley, editors, *Party Organization and Activism in the American South*, Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press.
- "Georgia: Two-Party Political Reality!" (with John A. Clark), 1997, in Laurence W. Moreland and Robert P. Steed, editors, *The 1996 Presidential Election in the South: Southern Party Systems in the 1990s*, 65-76, Westport Connecticut: Praeger Press.
- "Georgia: Two-Party Political Reality?," (with John A. Clark), 1995, in Charles D. Hadley and Lewis Bowman, editors, *Southern State Party Organizations and Activists*, 127-144, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Press.
- "Georgia: A State in Transition," (with John A. Clark), 1994, in Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker, editors, *The 1992 Presidential Election in the South*, 39-50, Westport Connecticut: Praeger Press.
- "United States of America," (with Arthur H. Miller), 1992, in Mark Franklin, Tom Mackie, and Henry Valen, editors, *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*, 362-382, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- "Electoral change and social change," (with Mark Franklin, Tom Mackie, Henry Valen, et al.), 1992, in Mark Franklin, Tom Mackie, Henry Valen, editors, *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*, 33-60, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BOOK REVIEW

Ragsdale, Lyn and Jerrold G. Rusk. *The American Nonvoter*. NY: New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 315 pages

GRANTS

Southern Grassroots Party Activists Project
NSF Grant SES-9009846
Southern Grassroots Party Activists Project II
NSF Grant SES-9986501

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Religion and Voting Behavior in American Politics
Ethnicity, Religion and Political Engagement
Multiracial Churches: Are their Black and White Parishioners different?

PAPERS

- "Multiracial Churches: Are their Black and White Parishioners different?" proposed for the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2019.
- "Ethnicity, Religion, and Political Engagement" presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2016.
- "Economics and Election Outcomes: The Presidency and the House" presented at the Annual

- Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2013.
- "Actions, Attitudes, and Affiliations: Race, Religion, and Voting Behavior" presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 2009.
- "Election Forecasting: The Future of the Presidency and the House" presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2013.
- "Religion and Voting Behavior: A Question of Black and White" presented The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 2007.
- "A Question of War: Question Wording and Support for War in Iraq" (with Stephen A. Borrelli) presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 2005.
- "Voting in the States: Incumbency and Economics in the 1990s" presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November, 2001.
- "Economics and Politics: Egocentric or Sociotropic?" presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 27-30, 2000.
- "Party Identification: A Dynamic Model" presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November, 1999.
- "Forecasting Legislative Elections: A Look to the Future," presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, March, 1999.
- "The Partisan Component to the Incumbency Advantage: an extension," presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 23-25, 1998.
- "The Partisan Component to the Incumbency Advantage," presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 7-9, 1996.
- "Race and Voting Behavior in Presidential Elections: 1952-1992," presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 18-20, 1996.
- "The Incumbency Advantage and Economic Voting in Gubernatorial and Senate Elections: A Comparison at the Individual Level," presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 1-4, 1995.
- "Election Forecasting: A Look to the Future," presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31- September 3, 1995.
- "Economic Accountability and Multiparty Government in Western Europe, 1973-1989," (with Kevin M. Leyden, Terry J. Royed, and Stephen A. Borrelli) presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 6-8, 1995.
- "Hidden Honeymoons? Agendas and the Dynamics of Presidential Influence in Congress," (with Stephen A. Borrelli) presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 2-5, 1994.
- "The Presidential Honeymoon: Is It Overrated?" (with Stephen A. Borrelli) presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 14-16, 1994.
- "Ideological Dispersion and the Composition of Party Systems," (with James L. Regens) presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, 1993.
- "Party Integration in Southern Local Parties," (with John A. Clark) presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, 1993.
- "Ideological Dispersion and the Number of Parties in Western Democracies," (with James L.

- Regens) presented at the Meetings of The Public Choice Society in conjunction with The Economic Science Association, March 17-20, 1993.
- "The Incumbency Advantage: A Micro- and Macro-level Phenomenon," (with Charles S. Bullock, III) presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 5-8, 1992.
- "The Influence of Party Contact, Economics and Attitudes on Political Participation, 1952-1990," (with Peter W. Wielhouwer) presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 1992.
- "Split Partisanship Among Grassroots Party Activists," (with John A. Clark) presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 1992.
- "Party Activists in Georgia," (with John A. Clark), presented at The 1992 Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, March 5-6, 1992.
- "The Incumbency Advantage: Conversion, Mobilization, or Abstention," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 7-9, 1991.
- "The Craven Politician: Congressional Vote Choice and the Budget Deficit," (with James L. Regens), presented at the Meetings of The Public Choice Society in conjunction with The Economic Science Association, March 15-17, 1991.
- "Economic Dissatisfaction and Political Alienation in Western Europe," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 8-10, 1990.
- "Prospective Voting in Presidential Elections: 1956-1988," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 4-7, 1990.
- "Marginality and Policy Responsiveness," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 2-4, 1989.
- "The Impact of Levels of Information on the Use of Prospective Evaluations," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31-September 3, 1989.
- "Prospective Voting and Political Trust," presented the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 13-15, 1989.
- "Prospective Economic Voting and Casework in House Elections, 1952-1986," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 3-6, 1988.
- "Prospective Voting in Senate Elections, 1952-1986," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 4-7, 1987.
- "Party Identification: Prospective or Retrospective," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 1987.
- "Economics, Culture, and Participation: West European Cases," (with Michael S. Lewis-Beck), presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 1987.
- "Getting Inside the Beltway: A New Approach to Presidential Skill and Success," (with Stephen A. Borrelli), presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 9-11, 1987.
- "Marginality-Homogeneity and Responsiveness Revisited," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 5-8, 1986.

OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Discussant on Elections panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2013.

Discussant on Elections panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2010.

Participant on the Forecasting the 2008 Election roundtable at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August, 2008.

Participant on the Forecasting the 2004 Election roundtable at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2004.

Chair/Discussant on the Dynamics of Partisanship panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November, 2001.

Discussant on the Issue Ownership and Policy Voting panel at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2001.

Participant on the Forecasting the 2000 Election roundtable at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2000.

Discussant on the Vote choice Panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 27-30, 2000.

Chair of the Vote Choice Strategies Panel at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, 1999.

Chair of the Policy Balancing and Split Ticket Voting in National and Subnational Elections Panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15-17, 1999.

Discussant on the Presidential Influence in Congress Panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15-17, 1999.

Chair of Issues of Representation in National and State Legislatures Panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, March, 1999.

Discussant on the Individual Decision Processes Panel at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, October 28-31, 1998.

Discussant on the Economic and Ideological Effects and Partisanship on the Vote Panel at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 26-30, 1998.

Discussant on the Voting Behavior panel at the Biannual Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, March, 1998.

Discussant on the Presidential Success in Congress Panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 7-9, 1997.

Discussant on the Elections and the Economy Panel at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-31, 1997.

Chair/Discussant on the Issues, Preferences, and Electoral Choices panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 10-12, 1997.

Discussant on the Partisan Dynamics of Elections panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 7-9, 1996.

Participant on the Forecasting the 1996 Election roundtable at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 29-September 1, 1996

Chair of the Distributive Politics in State and Federal Legislatures panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 18-20, 1996.

Discussant on the Issue Preferences and Voter Choice panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 1-4, 1995.

Discussant on the Mobilizing Participation panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 6-8, 1995.

Delivered the Plenary Address "The 1994 Midterm Elections and the American Political System" at the Annual Meeting of the Georgia Political Science Association, February 24-25, 1995.

Discussant on the Economic Conditions and Political Behavior from a Comparative Perspective panel at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 3-6, 1993.

Participant on Roundtable on the 1992 U.S. Elections at The Annual Meeting of the Georgia Political Science Association Meeting, February 25-27, 1993.

Discussant on the Congressional Elections panel of the Public Opinion and Elections Section at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 5-8, 1992.

Presentation on turnout at the Symposium on "Public and Private Cooperation for Argentinian Counsel for Coca Cola.

Discussant on the Age and Political Socialization panel of the Political Attitudes, Behavior, and Psychology Section at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 5-7, 1990.

Organized and chaired The Changing Nature of Elections panel at the Annual Meeting of Georgia Political Science Association, February 2-3, 1990.

Staff member, Robert A. Taft Institute of Government Seminar, University of Georgia Department of Social Science Education and Institute of Government, July 9-21, 1989, July 9-20, 1990, July 8-19, 1991, June 23-July 6, 1993.

Discussant on the Economics of Electoral Choice panel of the Elections, Voting, and Media Section at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 13-15, 1989.

Discussant on the Primaries panel of the Elections, Voting, and the Media Section at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 14-16, 1988.

MANUSCRIPT REVIEWER

National Science Foundation - Political Science Division
National Science Foundation - Economics Division
American Political Science Review
American Journal of Political Science
Journal of Politics
Western Political Quarterly
Political Research Quarterly
Social Science Quarterly
Legislative Studies Quarterly

American Politics Quarterly
Political Behavior
Comparative Politics
Southeastern Political Review
State and Local Government Review
Pearson Publishing
Thomson Publishing
Pennsylvania State Press
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